TAX CUT: A Dissent Peter Dorner

THE NATION

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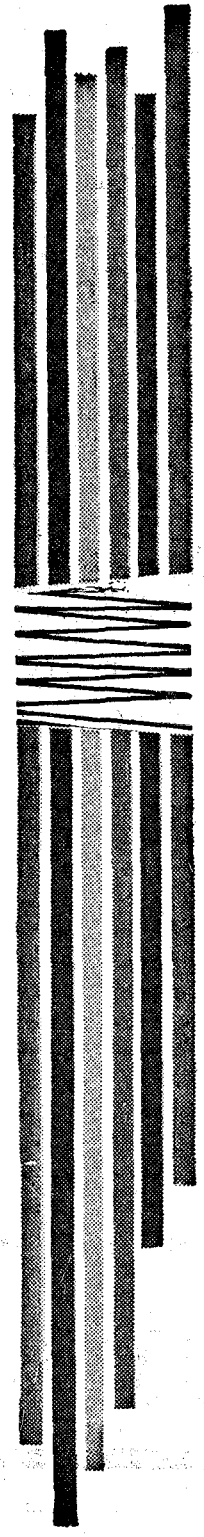

A Briton's View

# America's Medical Future

Lord Taylor

'Speaking in Tongues'

# THE HIGH CHURCH HERESY

Donovan Bess

British Guiana

# Prelude to Independence

T. E. M. McKitterick

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# LETTERS

## Need for disease?

*New Haven, Conn.*

*Dear Sirs:* Many physicians (although not yet enough) will confirm Brian Inglis' observations on drugs and their abuse ("The Aspirin Jungle," *The Nation*, Aug. 24). . . . But Inglis moves onto extremely thin ice when he skates away from drugs and attempts a series of teleological figure 8s relating to the "purpose" of disease.

The notion that the non-epidemic diseases represent nature's technique of eliminating the "unfit" has, I should hope, long since been relegated to the same resting place that contains the one about the divine right of kings. Just how much "need" for coronary heart disease or lung cancer will there be, for example, if we apply current knowledge about such man-made hazards as smog, smoking, industrial toxins, lopsided diets, etc.? Should we reverse the successful elimination of pellagra or the control of pernicious anemia in the name of pseudo-eugenics? Do the neuroses and psychoses—which neither kill nor sterilize—aid society to preserve its "fittest"?

Perhaps it is the social structure itself, and not its medical victims, that needs some pruning. . . .

*E. Richard Weinerman, M.D.*
*Associate Professor of Medicine and Public Health, Yale School of Medicine*

## Vicarious Odyssey

*Great Neck, N.Y.*

*Dear Sirs:* This is to thank you for Donald Richie's remarkably observant and vivid articles in *The Nation*, particularly "Letter from Hamburg" (August 24). Mr. Richie is blessed with an unfailing sense of place and time; a collection of his essays in book form would make a memorable vicarious Odyssey through which, in his own words, "those outside can look in" on the temper of a people and an age.

*Frank Salomon*

## Myth and sin

*New York City*

*Dear Sirs:* Hilbert Schenck's article ("Myth-Image of the Scientist") in the Sept. 14 issue is too reasonable to leave much room for argument. However, I must take exception to his conclusion that any myth "relieves science of responsibility, of its sense of sin. . . ."

The artificial and admittedly mythical division of science into "pure" and "applied" has nothing to do with the appalling lack of a sense of moral responsibility in our society. . . . We are all worshiping at the altar of indifference—and that does harm, whether it is found among the members of a military court (see Fred Cook's article in the same issue), by the citizen reading a newspaper, an artist perpetrating artistic and intellectual fraud, or a scientist. It is true that indifference and a lack of a sense of responsibility are particularly shocking among the intellectuals who, because of their greater than average intelligence, must accept greater than average responsibility to search for truth and defend right.

Incidentally, the Call for Papers for the 1964 Spring Joint Computer Conference is actually requesting papers on the "social implications of information processing"—I am anxious to see whether the committee will actually accept a discussion of this subject.

*Alice Mary Hilton*

## Recognition for Rustin

*Ho-Ho-Kus, N.J.*

*Dear Sirs:* I was gladdened by Harvey Swados' recognition and praise of Bayard Rustin in "Revolution on the March" (*The Nation*, Sept. 7). Incidentally, it was the crowning of a climactic experience for me to come home from the March and read, at 2 A.M., Mr. Swados' moving article on the background of this historic event! . . .

Bayard Rustin is singularly the key figure in this absorbing drama; he is the one most important human being behind the Negro's nonviolent movement, having set the example, laid down the discipline, and delivered the inspiration and courage which all the "name" leaders—and their thousands of unnamed followers—display before the shaken conscience of the world.

One thing not mentioned about Bayard is his singing, which he also has given the movement. For a quarter of a century he's been singing spirituals in a way that awakens the soul and transforms it into the force which now declares, "We shall overcome!"

*Dorothy Mock*

## Grave note

*Mexico, D.F.*

*Dear Sirs:* Of all Fred J. Cook's fine articles "The Corrupt Society" [June 18], for my money, is the best. If we aren't careful Mr. K. may bury us after all.

*Willard Motley*

## Cooper Union

*New York City*

*Dear Sirs:* In "Disappearance of a Museum" [Sept. 7], David Cort raises many issues with which I sympathize, but he has committed a serious injustice. The Cooper Union School of Engineering is not a "super high school." . . . Roughly 75 per cent of its graduates are accepted by some of the finest graduate schools in the country, a figure few others can match. The School of Engineering has a fine reputation in the industrial and scholastic fields and I feel an apology is due it from Mr. Cort.

*Robert Solomon*


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*Volume 197, No. 9*


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## Congress Isn't Always Wrong

A chronic complaint in American politics is that the procedures of Congress are slow, obsolescent, and better suited to the horse-and-buggy era than to our computer-speed culture. It is also alleged that Congress plays politics with the national destiny, whatever that is. In all of this there is no small amount of truth, but there are times when procrastination almost qualifies as a virtue. Congressional reaction to the President's proposed tax cut is a current instance.

After eight months of gestation, a modified version has emerged, 17 to 8, from the womb of the House Ways and Means Committee. Now the infant must survive the rigors of debate on the House floor, after which it goes to the Senate Finance Committee for surgery under the direction of an old practitioner, Hon. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. After emerging from the Finance Committee, it must withstand the high winds of Senatorial debate, to be followed possibly by referral back to the House for a joint conference, and so on.

The fact is, however, that if any substantial body of voters really cared, things would move much faster. It is only when Congressmen sense public apathy that they too are apathetic. From this tax bill the overwhelming majority of taxpayers, those in the 20 per cent bracket, will get such modest relief that they are not taking pen in hand to denounce Senators X and Y, and Representative Z, for withholding what the President wants them to have. As far as organs like *The Nation* are concerned, a tax bill without tax reform is no pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Many citizens are worried about the national debt as well as their own familial debts, and many economists — see Peter Dorner's "Tax Cut: A Dissenting View," p. 171 — have the gravest doubts that a tax cut will actually serve as insurance against a possible recession. The President keeps on saying it, but Presidential advisers have been wrong before.

As for Congressional politicking, it is neither better nor worse than Executive politicking. The Republicans believe that the Democrats, possibly including the President, don't really lust for a tax cut at this time. If the bill fails and next spring brings a recession, the President will be in a position to cast the blame on the Republicans. Democratic passion for a tax cut may rise to a higher pitch next August, say, or as near as possible to the 1964 elections. There is always the chance of a close election and, though the tax cut will be no bonanza for the masses, it may swing some votes.

The conclusion is, then, that the debate can continue at its present pace without grievous consequences. Pro or con, the fate of this measure does not endanger the Republic. The legislators can take their time, and they should.

## The Test-Ban Debate

The Senate's deliberations on the test-ban treaty have likewise not been carried on at spaceship speed, but things have been going much better than might have been the case a few years ago. The mood then, on the part of those who favored an agreement, was one of multiple apprehension. The fear was that the superpowers would never agree and if, by the grace of God, they did, that the U.S. Senate would not go along. Clearly, it will. Most of its members want to, and of those who don't, a good many will vote in favor anyway. A third of the Senate must stand for re-election in 1964; Senators also have their fears.

In fact, what was to be the debate of the decade is something of a fizzle. The most irreconcilable opponents show little zest for combat. One would expect Stennis, Russell, Goldwater, et al., to be up there beating their breasts and shouting that this treaty will be ratified over their dead bodies; but nothing of the kind is happening. They aren't even on the Senate floor very much. On the opening day, Stennis delivered his subcommittee's report to the effect that the military and technical position of the United States would be harmed; then he departed. Russell and Goldwater never showed up at all; Goldwater was in Cleveland talking before the Ohio Republican Finance Committee, just possibly campaigning for a higher office than that of Senator. Thurmond gave more time than his colleagues; he was observed wandering in and out.

The opposition is desultory for a very simple reason: in this case the voters *are* interested, and hence danger looms. Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, a Representative who has no voice in the matter, nevertheless polled his constituents, asking, among others questions, "Do you think the test-ban treaty will or will not strengthen world peace?" and "Do you think the Senate should approve the treaty, or reject it?" Seventy-eight per cent thought it would strengthen world peace; 84 per cent voted for approval.

Whoever votes against the treaty is handing his opponent a gilt-edged issue for 1964. Our two-party system is largely a mirage, but we could have two parties on this one: those who voted for, and those who voted against. *Newsweek* (August 5) quoted an "astute political observer" in a succinct observation before the fact: "It will be a rare Senator who will run next year on an I-voted-to-ban-the-ban platform." Not that the voters expect the lion and the lamb to lie down together, but they want the beginning of a retreat from the brink. They are going to get it.

## Get Down to Cases

The President, it is reported, is receiving conflicting advice from his Vietnam experts. It cannot be more conflicting than the comments in the press. All

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alike can serve only to bedevil him, and he certainly sounds bedeviled. It is impossible to summarize all the viewpoints, but the following probably have the most adherents:

1. "Patience, quiet diplomacy and full military and economic support for South Vietnam are the essential ingredients for a solution" (New York *Herald Tribune*, September 12). That is, act is if nothing had happened. We must sink or swim with the Ngos (perhaps no longer praising them as in the past), for after them comes the deluge.

2. Get rid of the Nhus, who were responsible for the attack on the Buddhist pagodas, but keep Diem, who isn't quite that bad. It won't satisfy the Buddhists, but at least it will relieve President Kennedy of his daily bolus of insults from Mme. Nhu.

3. Get out of Vietnam, period. The Young Democrats of California passed a resolution to this effect, and were jumped on as if they had committed a public obscenity — or worse, as if they were a bunch of Reds.

4. Get out, unless. . . . Or stop aid, unless. . . . Or reduce aid selectively, unless. . . . Ten or more Senators have offered counsel along these lines, but the Ngos (including the Nhu pair) are well entrenched, and the unlesses have slight chance of realization.

None of these proposals can even begin to get us out of the mess. In his September 9 television appearance, the President was at his most ineffectual, but he offered one lead which is worth following up. The problem, he said, was Red China, which, if South Vietnam should fall, he pictured as overrunning Southeast Asia right down to the tip of the Malaysian peninsula. He seemed to forget the Seventh Fleet and other resources he still commands, as well as the traditional enmity between the Vietnamese and the Chinese. However it is quite true that Red China cannot forever be left out of the equation. Sooner or later there must be a diplomatic confrontation between the United States, which has appointed itself the guardian of the area, and the Chinese, who have an enormous population and a formidable army. Suppose, then, the President allowed his mind to resume its normal functioning, and it came up with something like the following:

1. A venture in secret diplomacy, which can be useful in a delicate situation. We could make private overtures to the Red Chinese via Warsaw, proposing terms for a mutual hands-off policy in Vietnam. Candidate Kennedy had some tentative suggestions about letting the Reds have Quemoy and Matsu which he decided not to press during the campaign; President Kennedy might well turn back to these suggestions and the thinking that prompted them. This course would have the additional advantage of playing off China against the Soviet Union, as well as the Soviet Union against China.

2. In concert with France, approach Hanoi, North Vietnam, with proposals for an end of the war and a neutral federation of North and South, the North to remain Communist, the South to remain capitalist, with free intercourse between the two, perhaps under UN supervision.

3. Hanoi also to use its influence with the Pathet Lao to stabilize the situation in Laos.

4. The United States to give economic aid to both North and South Vietnam, which would be a better investment than pouring $500 million a year, and Vietnamese and American lives, down a perpetual rathole.

5. *Then* get rid of the Ngos, part and parcel, Diem and Nhu; not withdrawing American troops, however, until the Catholic population can be safeguarded.

Politically impossible? Perhaps, but if the present simulation of thinking continues to prevail, World War III might well start in Southeast Asia, as World War II started in the Pacific.

## Krebiozen—The End of the Road

According to the Food and Drug Administration, the long-touted cancer remedy, Krebiozen, developed by Dr. Stevan Durovic, is nothing but creatin, about 100 grams of which (3.5 ounces) is found in a healthy man of average weight. If this finding is sustained, Dr. Durovic, with his dosage of about one twelve-millionth of the amount normally present in the human body, has lost a case which he deserved to lose long ago. Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, the respected former vice president of the University of Illinois, who supported Dr. Durovic's claims in part, does not come out too well either, nor does Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, a political supporter of the Krebiozen sponsors. The one man who comes out of the affair with credit — if the FDA proves its case—is Dr. George D. Stoddard, who lost his job as president of the University of Illinois and well-nigh ruined himself financially in defending litigation growing out of the controversy.

Even if Krebiozen is not proved to be creatin, it now seems clear that the drug has no future.

It is already barred from interstate shipment and it is hard to see how the distribution agency can remain in business. Yet the thirteen-year-old controversy must leave a residue of public suspicion which will damage others besides the promoters — the FDA, the AMA, and even the National Cancer Institute. In part this will be the irrational result of the realization that we are back where we started, with millions doomed to an often agonizing death from internal cancers which defy early detection. In part, however, it will also be the outcome of the extraordinary virulence of medical controversy, beside which the *odium theologicum* pales, and the growing unpopularity of the AMA which, for a change, in this matter has been fighting in the public interest.

In these circumstances, a dispassionate survey of the whole miserable business is badly needed and, by an adroit piece of timing, it is available in the September issue of *Consumer Reports*. *CR* concludes that the truth about Krebiozen is not known and may never be known, and that the fault must be laid at the door of Dr. Durovic, who has not played the game accord-



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ing to the rules which have been found absolutely indispensable if medical research is not to dissolve into chaos. CU contends that for years Dr. Durovic, on one pretext or another, has refused to reveal the chemical composition of his alleged remedy, the technique of its manufacture, and other data essential for impartial evaluation.

Just the same, the present threat to call on the Justice Department to prosecute Durovic (and perhaps Ivy) seems as ill-advised as much that has preceded it. Many persons, including some physicians and psychologists, are so terrified of cancer that they refuse to recognize the disease in themselves, even when the symptoms are unmistakable. Others, knowing their condition, will grasp at any straw. Many of these are personality types who are actually helped, for a while, by any remedy in which they believe. Dr. C. P. Rhoads, late head of the Memorial Hospital Center for Cancer and Allied Diseases in New York, ascribed the occasional favorable effects of Krebiozen to this placebo effect. The fact remains that several thousand cancer sufferers are convinced that Krebiozen is keeping them alive. The public must be protected, but the protection need not be at the expense of these unfortunates. If it is administratively possible for them to continue to receive Krebiozen, they should get it. The FDA has the power to bar dispensation to new cases and there—if at all possible—the matter should be allowed to rest.

## A Dubious Charge

Cheddi Jagan, the Premier of British Guiana, and Forbes Burnham, the leader of the major opposition party, are in New York for scheduled appearances before the Good Offices subcommittee of the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism. The issues — ideological, political, ethnic and racial — that have led to the embittered rivalry between these men, and their respective parties, are dealt with elsewhere in this issue (see page 179). Of immediate concern is a peripheral issue.

Early in August, a group calling itself the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, Inc., released a statement in Washington purporting to "prove" that Jagan's government was being subverted by Cuba and the USSR. Part of the proof consisted in the submission of what purported to be copies of drafts for sums totaling $127,957.76 drawn on Barclays Bank, made out by the Ministry of Education, Moscow, to an organization in British Guiana known to be an arm of Jagan's People's Progressive Party. Also submitted was a photostat of a credit slip in favor of Guiana Import-Export Corp. for $1,720,046.64 dated June 29.

In submitting these documents at the Washington press conference, a spokesman for the Committee said that the documents had been spirited from the Water Street branch of Barclays Bank in Georgetown. Senator Thomas Dodd and a section of the press promptly made much of the charges. But now, in a letter dated August 22, addressed to the General Secretary, People's Progressive Party, Barclays Bank in Georgetown reports that no such transactions have passed through their books. The same letter points out that, while the credit — from the bank of Havana — is dated June 29, the stamp purporting to have been placed on it by Barclays is dated June 26. *The Nation* has no way, of course, of knowing where the truth lies in this matter, but there is certainly good reason to question the authenticity of the original charges.

From the outset, a number of American organizations have been acting toward the Jagan government as if they represented the State Department or as if they felt it incumbent on them to assist the State Department in making a prima facie case against that government. The list would include Dr. Fred Schwartz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Moral Rearmament, the Inter-American office of AFL-CIO and, now, the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba. Without any help from these organizations, the State Department has steadily pursued a policy which seems to be aimed at forcing Jagan to accept help from the Russians and from Cuba — thus proving "conclusively" that his regime has been "subverted." If this is the objective then the policy seems to be proceeding quite satisfactorily without assistance of the kind just proffered by the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba.

# TAX CUT: A Dissenting View . . . . Peter Dorner

"Getting the economy moving ahead" — this has been the topic of a great debate in recent years. How do we get an increased rate of economic growth; how do we reduce unemployment? For the past six months or more, the debate has focused on a tax cut, but the issues as yet are not clear. A good bit of "faith" is involved, because, in fact, a tax cut fails to get at the fundamental problems.

Any discussion of the potential effect of a tax cut must come to grips with two basic realities of our present economy:

1. the increasing inelasticity of demand for an ever-expanding number of consumer goods;
2. the increasing mechanization and automation resulting in a rapid disappearance of jobs for the unskilled.

Elasticity of demand for a product is measured by the consumption response to an increase in income (or a decline in price). For example, food products as a whole have a very inelastic demand with respect both to income and price. A 10 per cent rise in consumer disposable income results in only a small increase of food purchases (2-3 per cent). Likewise, a reduc-

*Peter Dorner teaches in the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin.*



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tion in price evokes little change in consumer response.

Food satisfies man's most basic need; thus, it has arrived first at this state of inelasticity. But as consumers become more wealthy, other products fall into the class. There is a limit to the expansion of demand for consumer durables such as automobiles, refrigerators, television sets, etc.

When new goods appear, they are viewed as luxury and prestige items. But as more families buy them, they are transformed into necessities and the demand for them becomes more inelastic. A significant point about consumer durable goods is that they have a second-hand market. When a higher-income family buys a new appliance or automobile, the old one finds its way into the home of a lower-income family. This, indeed may be a means whereby the rich subsidize the poor, but it also acts as a faster brake on demand than would be the case with nondurables, which have no second-hand market.

It is true that new goods now entering the market can stimulate some increased economic activity. Home air conditioning, outdoor recreational equipment and the like will become larger items in family budgets, but it is improbable that they will be a sufficient factor to give the economy the necessary boost. It is also true that there remains a large unfilled potential demand for the common "necessities" of the consumer durables. However, this potential exists among the lower-income groups in the society, and here we face the second basic condition of our modern economy. A general characteristic of these lower-income groups is a lack of skills required in our present production processes. While unemployment in the total labor force is today at something over 5 per cent, the rate for unskilled workers is over 12 per cent. [See "Prosperity through Equality" by Loren Miller, *The Nation*, Sept. 21.]

These two basic realities of our present economy are new. During the depression of the 1930s there was a great potential demand. The problem was to get purchasing power into the hands of the people so that the idle factories could go into production. The variety of skills required in the production processes was more nearly proportional to those existing in the general labor force. Under those circumstances, it was realistic to stimulate the private economy and increase private investment. Jobs would become available, incomes would increase and effective demand would follow. The problems of inelastic demand and disappearing job opportunities were not of central importance.

During the war years, the economic situation was the complete reverse of what it is today. Shortages of goods and workers were the norm. In the postwar period, up until the mid-1950s, there was a tremendous backlog of demand for consumer durable goods, and the forced saving of the war years made this demand effective. Mechanization (and automation) was not the factor it has since become. Furthermore, many tasks that had been neglected during the war years provided employment even for the less skilled.

But in the last decade, inelasticity and automation have changed the nature of the problem, and they require new means of attack. Today we have an economy that is sluggish, unemployment at the unacceptable rate of between 5-6 per cent, and an increasing number of workers *unsuited for employment by private industry.*

No nation has ever before faced such conditions. Western Europe is only now approaching the stage of mass consumption. She will not be troubled by these conditions for perhaps another generation. But in the United States, they are upon us now. This, indeed, is the "new frontier" in the economic world. Yet it appears doubtful that the New Frontiersmen in Washington recognize it as such.

It is in the above context that we must evaluate the proposed tax cut. What is it to accomplish?

The various consequences of a tax cut would depend on the nature, size and distribution of such a cut. The general hope is, of course, that it will stimulate spending by consumers and investment by business. It is a hope that rests on the worn cliché that our tax structure is dampening "incentive, initiative and investment." There is no evidence to support this. Looking back over the past ten years, one finds that corporate taxes as a per cent of profits were actually slightly higher in the first five-year period than in the second. Furthermore, the total internal sources of corporate funds (retained profits, depletion allowances and depreciation and amortization allowances) were a slightly larger percentage of a much larger gross national product in the latter five years. (Total internal sources of corporate funds as a per cent of GNP: 1953-7 = 6.1%; 1958-62 = 6.2%.)

Given these data, it is unreasonable to claim that the tax structure is strangling investment. If that were the case, it would have done so even more severely in the first five years of the decade. But, in fact, there was little reference then to the "stifling" effects of the tax system.

It is not the tax bite that has changed over this decade. It is not that industry is anxious and willing to invest but lacks funds or incentive because of taxes. Indeed, we have an excess industrial capacity now, and that is another of our problems.

Even if the tax cut were successful in stimulating new investment, it would not be apt to get at the basic difficulties. Much of the new investment would be in the form of labor-saving and labor-displacing equipment. More and more, our investments tend to create skilled and professional jobs and to displace unskilled ones in the process. Thus we have the paradox of an acute shortage of people in the professions and in positions that require extensive training, coexisting with chronic unemployment.

The unskilled unemployed and under-employed cannot be put back to work by means of a tax cut. Many of these people, if they are to work at all, will have to be employed in some type of public project. Private industry simply will not hire them. Nor are retraining efforts likely to do very much toward raising skill levels to present requirements.

Another consequence of a tax cut that should not be overlooked is the demand that will be made to balance the federal budget. The Business Committee for Tax Reduction in 1963 is on record for a tax cut *along with* "a reasonable balance" in the federal budget. If the tax cut is offset by a reduction



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in federal spending, its effects will be nullified insofar as any increased employment is concerned.

Looking at all the above factors, I conclude that an across-the-board cut in taxes is not the way to stimulate the economy at this time. Tax reform? Certainly! But the reform idea has been largely abandoned. Increasing participation of government in the economy is imperative under our modern conditions. In an increasingly automated economy, it will become increasingly necessary to use the taxing power of the state as an instrument of income distribution. A cut in taxes is a move in the wrong direction.

## 'Speaking in Tongues'

# The High Church Heresy . . . . . Donovan Bess

*"My Non-Intelligence of Human Words*
*Ten thousand Pleasures unto me affords. . . ."*
—Thomas Traherne (1634-74)

*San Francisco*

Glossolalia, "speaking in tongues," is a symptom in some psychoses. The patients spout fluent nonsense and seem to feel the better for it. In primitive societies, says Professor J. Stillson Judah, an expert on irregular religious behavior, the shaman is apt to "become inspired with a spirit of an ancestor, or of a stream, or of a mountain—whatever it is they worship—and he then begins to speak in an unfamiliar tongue."

Paul spoke in tongues, meaning that he surrendered his voice box to allow the Holy Spirit to speak through him in an unknown language, and other early Christians practiced glossolalia. Religious historians, however, barely mention it before the seventeenth century, when it had a vogue in France. It appeared in Scotland in 1830, and has been intermittently observed in India, Germany and China. Nearly a hundred years ago, the American Pentecostal sects began to nurture glossolalia, but in a carefree setting not to the taste of officials of the middle-class Protestant denominations. April 3, 1960, therefore, was a difficult day for such officials. That was the Sunday on which Rev. Dennis J. Bennett arose in his (high) Episcopalian church in Van Nuys, California, and confessed to glossolalianism. He said that "the Holy Spirit did take my lips and tongue and form a new and powerful language of praise and prayer that I myself could not understand. . . ."

It was not one man's revolt. It developed that about seventy of Father Bennett's 2,500 parishioners already had the habit of speaking in tongues. The rector, a convert from Congregationalism, was removed to Seattle. There, his energetic ministry rehabilitated St. Luke's Episcopal Church and spread the new movement throughout respectable Protestant churches of the Northwest.

The scandal surrounding Father Bennett's exile revealed that glossolalianism had been boring within the Episcopal apparatus for two years. The first unit was organized in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Monterey Park, Los Angeles County. Perhaps this deviation might have been ignored, since it occurred in a region with a history of spiritual eccentricity; but church investigators discovered that another tongue-speaking unit had been active for two years in Trinity Church, Wheaton, Ill. A power struggle began.

The publicity about Father Bennett's effusions gave the movement a healthy boost. The custom spread so rapidly that prelates in the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran churches established commissions to investigate. The Right Rev. James A. Pike, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of California, demanded a system of disciplines under which the glossolalians would be seen and not heard. Methodist Bishop Everett W. Palmer, who heads his church's Seattle area, called speaking in tongues "a perversion." Presbyterian officials sought to inhibit tongue-speaking ministers through what they call "counseling."

The theological panic about glossolalia may give the impression that it is manifested by cackling, or gurgling, or shouting across the moors; or all of these, combined with convulsions and foaming at the mouth. However—at least in the "high Pentecostal" and middle-class Protestant denominations—glossolalia usually emerges in a pleasant, undulating, open-voweled speech rather like Hawaiian, or Arabic, or a Romance language, or Latin. It has aspects of the chant; it often has a pulse of its own, bearing down gently on the start of each "sentence." Sometimes it sounds like calypso singing. It is considered a way of praising Jesus.

Sometimes the speech issues from the extreme emotion generated during a healing service in a church; sometimes it is courted, and won, during a fervent prayer session in a church committee room; sometimes it comes to persons gathered in their living rooms, with curtains drawn but with friendly strangers welcome; sometimes it comes to a person alone, kneeling in the pew or walking to the supermarket. Usually the head is bowed and the eyes are closed when the non-words push out: then the face turns skyward and after some moments looks washed clean both of pain and of the elation usually associated with earthly enjoyment.

At one prayer group I observed this summer, all four of those present spoke in tongues: a twenty-three-year-old artist who hopes to become an Episcopal priest; his wife; a middle-aged divorcée from England, and her fifteen-year-old daughter. They did not seem to mind my presence, or the disturbances when the clock croaked "cuckoo" during prayers. They sat in a circle, in chairs, each with his hands laid within adjoining hands. The young man first prayed in English. Then from his lips I heard: *"In eesh see-ah cohma sohya ineeshe say la homoshah-ee ya."*

A few minutes later the divorcée

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*Donovan Bess is on the staff of the San Francisco Chronicle.*



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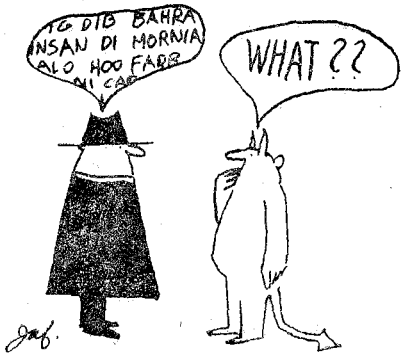
said: *"Ah ach ma hah moora, ay andorra ay ach-ah ha moora. Ahmtee muhr ah hah melah, ay ah nahah mahah murch mahlan."* In defiance of the Bishop's pastoral letter of censure, she gave an English version of what the Holy Spirit had said through her lips: "Seek the smooth surface and the high peaks."

*"Go vostra ah nuh koh mostra gahn,"* said the young girl. *"Kay nee say dah."* The young man, interpreting for her, said: "Listen, for I've said it again and again; listen, for the Son of Man is come."

After twenty minutes of such prayer, each of the four took turns sitting in a chair, while the others heretically laid their hands on the head and the shoulders. During this rite, choruses of the four tongues commingled. The communicants said they did this periodically to drive away troubles.

At another home-based prayer meeting earlier in the week, I heard the testimonial of a middle-aged gastroenterologist from the University of California Medical Center. "Last January I was at a bull session with some of my Presbyterian friends," he said. "They told how great things had happened in their lives when they asked the Lord to fill them. They told me of speaking in tongues. One Thursday evening at the house of a friend, a man laid hands on me and prayed. I started bursting out in a strange song. I, of all people! I can't even remember the doxology, and it's awfully hard for me to keep a tune."

The Presbyterian circle, the physician said, includes two medical doctors, several public schoolteachers, nurses, a personnel manager and a computer programer for the University of California cyclotron research center. He told how, during a meeting with glossolalians




from Stanford University and its environs, he encountered a woman possessed by a demon. "I prayed for Christ to give me the authority to drive out the demon," he testified. "I am happy to report that He did, and the woman has been freed."

A handsome, slick magazine, *Trinity*, now is distributed nationally for converts among the historic Protestant denominations. It publishes testimonials from all over the nation; they are proof that speaking in tongues is not just another of the religious growths that thrive and die so frequently in sun-baked California.

The glossolalian tends to employ a Hollywoodian excess in discussing the delights of rebirth. For example, the current issue of *Pentecost* carries this statement from Rev. David J. du Plessis of Oakland: "When the river of life flows and baptizer and candidates meet in that river, there are always those who receive a glorious and mighty baptism." Mr. du Plessis is one of the major promoters of the tongues movement in the historical denominations, from California to India. Another major promoter is Rev. Larry Christensen, pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church in San Pedro, Calif. "In order to speak in tongues, you have to quit praying in English," he argues in an instructional leaflet for beginners. "The first sounds will sound strange and unnatural to your ear, and they may be halting and inarticulate (have you ever heard a baby learning to talk?). You may even have the thought that you are just making it up. But as you *continue to speak*, and the lips and tongue begin to move more freely, the Spirit will begin to shape a beautiful language of prayer and praise." He warned, however, that "the Devil will be right at hand to challenge your experience — telling you that you made it all up. . . ."

The glossolalians have won over at least one very important prelate: the Right Rev. Chandler W. Sterling, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Montana. He told an Episcopal convention in Oregon two years ago that "another Pentecost is coming," but that first, Christians must get the "organization church" out of the way. Bishop Sterling reaffirmed this attitude in an issue of *Trinity* last year. The speakers in tongues also boast of successes on the Yale campus. About twenty members of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship have told university chaplains they "received," according to *The Living Church*, an Episcopal weekly. The revival at another upper-class campus, Stanford, apparently is just as vivacious. Bruce Nickerson, a hearty 1963 graduate in economics, said that from fifteen to twenty Stanford students participated each week this spring in a glossolalia seminar conducted by Rev. William Pickthorn, pastor of the Christian Center Church in nearby Palo Alto. "It gives the students a chance to be loving," Nickerson said. Conversions of intellectuals and scientists are well advertised. Father Bennett, speaking from his prospering glossolalian parish in Seattle, declared: "Our own church numbers at least two college professors who are sharing in this new life, and one of the leading neuro-surgeons on the West Coast."

A pillar of Far West glossolalianism is Rev. Todd Ewald, the bouncy rector of Holy Innocents Episcopal Church, which is so high-church it uses incense on Sunday mornings. It is located in Corte Madera, in a valley full of redwoods and wealthy, horsy, hard-drinking San Francisco suburbanites. Father Ewald makes no bones about offering old-time religion. He also is the Episcopal chaplain at nearby San Quentin Prison, where he learned about the buddy system at first hand. Father Ewald is so enthusiastic he offered to heal the athlete's foot of a newspaper reporter inquiring about glossolalia. (The priest explained that the actual healing would be done by the Holy Spirit "working together with your dermatologist.") He likes to tell strangers, "Come to our prayer meeting—our tempo is beautiful indeed. God love you."

Father Ewald said the Holy Spirit cured one of his church members of alcoholism after hands had been laid on him as he stood in a circle of men praying, with hands clutching shoulders, before the altar. "After he received," the rector said, "he whipped off his shirt and yelled at the other men, 'One of you suckers burned me.' He pointed to a spot in his back and said, 'The tongues of fire burned me.' " Father Ewald said another of his flock "received the



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baptism of the Holy Spirit" during a routine confirmation service. "When I asked him what had happened, he said, 'I felt and heard the winds. It was like every window in the place suddenly was open.'"

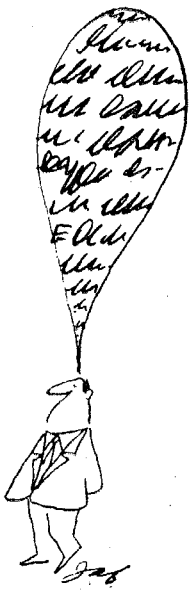
Father Ewald's encouragement of intimacies with the Holy Spirit is most displeasing to his superiors. Good Episcopalians want God to save them, but some of them think He shouldn't get personal about it. They think the church should keep its cool, Angelican tone, because it is the only way they can pledge allegiance to Queen Elizabeth. So Bishop Pike appointed a glossolalian study commission — an especially British way of postponing decisions without losing dignity. The commission included two psychiatrists, a para-psychologist, a tongue-speaking rector from San Leandro (an unfashionable suburb near Oakland) and a priest-anthropologist. The commissioners found that at least twelve clergymen of the diocese were "actively involved." Their report was partly a psychological white paper and partly an institutional confession.

*Both of our psychiatrists point out that much of our religious life as Episcopalians is so externalized and formalized that all too easily we become spiritually strait-jacketed [the report said]. The phrase, "God's frozen people," apparently has serious emotional overtone as well as evangelistic!*

The commissioners concluded that glossolalia, psychologically speaking, "may be either an unhealthy element within the personality or a creative influence." They decided, "We wish to study the movement further."

In this way, on May 14, they handed the ball to Bishop Pike. But by this time he was in no mood for meditating on the "creative influence" possible from this troublesome group. He released the pastoral letter in which he condemned this "distorted focus"; he said the church was faced with "heresy in embryo"; he outlawed any exorcism of demons except under psychiatric supervision; he ordered Episcopal laymen to cease the laying-on of hands; he banned "tongues" from confirmation services; and he "advised" his clergy and church members to desist from glossolalianism "in our churches or in homes or elsewhere."

The bishop evidently overesti-



mated his own influence, or underestimated the vigor of his opponents. The pastoral letter drove them underground, where they have been fired with the zeal of the Christians hounded into the Roman catacombs. Of late, the glossolalians have been busily crossing denominational frontiers and fraternizing with lower-middle-class Pentecostals; some even claim to have invaded Roman Catholic territory.

Meanwhile, the Methodist hierarchy was agonized in its own reappraisal. It is even harder for Methodist churchmen to be sporting about this problem: they cannot forget the successes of that gifted renegade from Methodism, the late Aimee Semple McPherson, the founder of the Angelus Temple of Los Angeles. The Right Rev. Everett W. Palmer, resident Methodist Bishop of the Seattle area, told his people this spring that glossolalia "ranges from incoherent babbling, unintelligible monologue and ecstatic ejaculation, to trances of a medium." Glossolalia, said Bishop Palmer, "generally has drawn people into a wilderness of idiosyncrasy whose only harvest has been briers"; and "it tends to make for spiritual snobbery"; and "our Lord never [did] resort to irrational, ecstatic gibberish nor incoherent babblings"; and "in plain truth it must be termed perversion"; and [worst of all] "it tends to make the Church look ridiculous."

The Presbyterians, by appearing to be only raising their eyebrows, seemed to have fared better. Only three of their churches in California are known to be heavily Pentecostal. The glossolalians, said one of the affected ministers, "are very enthusiastic and are trying to convert other members." He said, perhaps with a touch of pride, that he thought the Episcopalians and the Lutherans "appear to have even more of this."

Nobody has yet tried to make a scientific evaluation of glossolalia, nor even to take an inventory in the manner of William James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Psychologists and intellectual theologians vary in their theories of what draws people into the movement. Some say the impetus comes from an unconscious need to solve personality conflicts or to shed feelings of inadequacy or guilt through "instant salvation"; others feel there may be a purposive drive behind it, a drive to discover, via the irrational, some meaning in a world dominated by "rational" men who keep us on the brink of nuclear or racial war.

Psychologists who have treated glossolalian patients find that they "tend to have some deep personality conflict," said Aaron Ungersma, a clinical psychologist at the San Francisco Theological Seminary (Presbyterian). He reported that one patient who had confessed to strong homosexual leanings found that when the desire became unbearable he spoke in tongues—and "the pressure was off." Another glossolalian man, he reported, told his therapist that speaking in tongues permitted him to control guilt feelings about his extramarital affairs. "Certainly," said Dr. Ungersma, "glossolalia provides reassurance in times of tension."

Two other psychiatrists said they felt the glossolalians expressed a great deal of sexual energy and that "mass hypnosis" evidently was involved. This view was tempered by Dr. Sheila Moon, a San Francisco psychotherapist. She agreed that in certain individual cases hysteria, latent psychosis or exhibitionism might be involved; but, she suggested, the causes involved our whole way of life.

"Glossolalia," she said, "is essentially a convulsive effort of the unconscious parts of personality to push through into consciousness in a teleological way"—and is "potentially creative." She felt, however, that the phenomenon was on the



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whole "isloated from the rest of the psyche, and thus goes off without being related consciously to the wholeness of the person." Autonomous contents of the unconscious "are always dangerous."

Professor Judah, who teaches at the Pacific School of Religion, said he felt that many persons are initiated into speaking in tongues entirely through the power of suggestion. He has observed the activities of religious fringe groups for decades. "This reminds me," he said, "of the outbreaks of treeing the Devil in Europe several centuries ago. People got down on their hands and knees and barked to chase the Devil up the tree. Reporters sent to observe this came under the power of suggestion, and they, too, began to bark and join in the chase." He said he was convinced "real power" was released through speaking in tongues. "Sometimes when I have watched it the hair goes up on the back of my neck."

Francis Geddes, a scholar who has compared glossolalia with what he calls "LSD evangelism," said: "Both speaking in tongues and taking LSD offer a person a very deep, very profound, very soul-shaking experience. But the next question is: What does this experience mean? This is where I part company with both the LSD evangelists and the speakers in tongues."

As director of the Religious Research Foundation of San Francisco, Geddes keeps up with both movements. "Those who speak in tongues say you get spiritual maturity for nothing," he said. "I'd say the LSD evangelists feel that way, too. Both approaches place a high priority on psychological or religious experience as an end in itself. The LSD people say, 'experience, experience, experience.' The tongue-speaking people think they have some kind of direct channel into the Holy Spirit. . . . When I look an LSD convert in the eyes, I get the same look as when I look at a speaker-in-tongues—the look of 'I've got truth.' They are taking the cork out of the stopped-up id, and that can be dangerous."

Dr. Arnold Come, a professor at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, also emphasized the dangers. "Rather than go through all of the agony of thinking about it," he said, "they want a short cut to certainty, and this is dangerous." He recalled an account of an intemperate meeting of the Anabaptists at St. Gall, Switzerland, in the seventeenth century: how glossolalia occurred in company with "lewdness and unchastity" and "fratricide by decapitation." The possible perils involved also were suggested by Dr. Douglas Horton, a former dean of the Harvard University School of Divinity. "You can go out from glossolalia and murder a guy as quickly as you can love him," he said.

Professor Come said the glossolalians' literal belief in the King James Version of the Bible is in itself an anti-intellectual evasion akin to right-wing politics. He said one tongue-speaking Episcopal priest recently told his followers that the scholars at the University of Chicago who prepared the Revised Standard Version of the Bible had "slanted it as a Communist version." Professor Judah said he also felt such literal belief in the Bible seemed to go hand in hand with the radical Right.

The theological critics of the glossolalian movement perhaps have underrated the excitement of speaking in tongues. The glossolalians tell about the "thrills" they have had: their testimonials throb with *joie de vivre*. In our hedonistic society, religion presumably can attract only if it furnishes some fun. After running the gamut of television, sex, alcohol and drugs, what pleasures are left? One thing the Hollywood TV writers cannot produce is the sensation of being possessed by the Holy Spirit. Alan Watts, an intrepid religious philosopher and a former Anglican priest, took up this topic in a letter written last May to Philip Adams, the attorney for Bishop Pike's diocese.

*As you may know [he wrote], I am a great believer in ritual order, but without the leavening of a certain touch of divine madness it is as disastrous as a suspension-bridge that is perfectly rigid. "Six days shalt thou labor," and be righteous and sober, but the Seventh Day is the holiday, the spiritual equivalent of the mardi gras, the time out for "celestial whoopee," for the* celebration *of the holy mysteries. (Do you remember that Dante described the song of the angels in heaven as "the laughter of the universe"? . . . Does the ordinary Anglican-chant version of the Venite sound anything like laughter?) . . . So please, Phil, remind the Bishop of the tradition that the wine for the Eucharist be 20 per cent alcohol, and that, by analogy, it is his pastoral duty to protect and encourage the fermentation of the Spirit in his flock. . . .*

But it is necessary to pursue this with something more penetrating than bon mots. The nature of life, as Francis Geddes said, provides us with events "tragic and ambiguous," as well as with amusing hours at the seashore. For example, R. A. Knox, a religious historian, tells how in 1689 troops advanced on an assembly of Camisards in France, and how the menaced sectarians breathed "into one another's mouths to produce an inspiration of supernatural courage."* Here was a total defense of uniqueness through brotherhood. This combination often is present when glossolalians get together. "We are so loving," says Father Ewald. In an article in *America* last May, Father Daniel J. O'Hanlon, a Jesuit theologist, acknowledged the allure of the new Pentecostals. He observed that socially malajusted persons are "threatened by a terrible loneliness for which the middle-class churches, Protestant or Catholic, seem to offer no adequate remedy." Especially terrible in these days is the loneliness of being black and being hated, of being white and hating, and of being white and being hated, and of being black and hating. At a private prayer meeting in San Francisco last June, four Southern Baptist youths knelt on the floor near a middle-aged Negro woman. One of them, a twenty-one-year-old sailor from Louisiana, broke out in tongues. "Oh, Lord," he said. "I tell Thee I have no more pride about her getting the same blessing I got. I am free, I tell Thee, and I'm glad that you have taken the prejudice out of my heart." Can it be that the urge to speak in tongues is motivated also by an unconscious lust for one world—for global salvation?

If there is such a lust in this, is it—paradoxically—hitched to an affirmation of individual rights? Dr. Moon said that basically she considered glossolalia to be "an attempt of man to break through the meaninglessness of his contemporary world and to express his own unique identity." She said: "We are told on every side, and loudly, what to think, what to feel, what to be-

*In *Enthusiasm*, Oxford University Press, 1950.



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lieve, what to work for, what to defend, what to hate. And if we are at all thoughtful or imaginative, we resent and perhaps reject these pressures." Certainly the young persons who speak in tongues in 1963 show remarkable courage in the face of harassment by prelates and by newspaper reporters who haven't the guts or won't take the time to consider the human needs involved.

"Speech is the nervous system of our society," writes J. R. Firth in *The Tongues of Man*. To surrender that nervous system, even temporarily, is an act of rebellion against society and against that peculiarly human accomplishment, consciousness. The questions raised by the glossolalian revival are of concern to all of us. Do their gains of greater brotherhood work toward global love, or toward an edgy new fraternity of the Washed? Can the initiates control the power released, or might it get away in the manner of a nuclear reactor gone wild? Or is this a desperate, irrational rally to stand firm against overwhelming pressures to conform?

## A Briton's View

# AMERICA'S MEDICAL FUTURE . . . . Lord Taylor

*Lord Taylor spent two months in this country last spring as a guest of the State Department's Foreign Leader Program. Lord Taylor is himself a physician, and in the House of Lords he leads the Labour Party in matters of health. As Medical Director of the Harlow Industrial Health Service, he is especially preoccupied at present with problems of medical care and with the very serious shortage of doctors in Great Britain. He asked, therefore, that he be put in touch with doctors and medical administrators, in cities and villages, who face similar problems here, and the State Department introduced him to such persons from Washington and New York to Phoenix and San Francisco, with many way-stops. His hosts also took account of Lord Taylor's hint that he would be happy whenever a weekend found him visiting in the home of a physician who enjoyed access to a good trout stream.*

Discussions on medicare sometimes lead to echoes of Billy Bones's opinion in *Treasure Island* that "Doctors is all swabs." Having known a good many on both sides of the Atlantic, I would say with confidence that this ain't so. Every profession everywhere has its share of black sheep and psychopaths, but medicine gets less than the average, for the simple reason that the hard work involved makes little appeal to the really bad eggs.

American doctors compare well with doctors anywhere else in the world. Technically, their level of achievement is generally excellent. As individuals, most of them are fine men, with high standards of personal and professional ethics, with wide humanity and understanding of their patients, and a rugged independence and individuality which are essential for good doctoring. As individuals, most are popular with their patients. But collectively, the image is a divided one. As the white-gowned servant of humanity, the American doctor is a hero, a figure of romance, with science and his own personal skill as weapons in a never-ending battle against disease. His offense in the eyes of his detractors is that he is rich, and is determined to stay that way. In a society dedicated to achievement on a sound cash basis, unpopularity on this score is surprising.

The trouble is that the doctor is not very good at putting his own case. This is partly because he has not thought it out thoroughly himself, and partly because good doctors everywhere prefer doctoring to medical politics. So in his collective capacity he appears as the affluent enemy of progress, which is far from being the case.

In Britain, the broad pros and cons of medicare are no longer argued. We are almost all of us pretty sure we have moved in the right direction. That is not to say that we have got all the answers; indeed we haven't. But more than 90 per cent of us like our National Health Service well enough to use it, even though we don't have to. And almost all our best doctors are in fact practicing within the service. There are still genuine difficulties to be solved, for both patients and doctors, not least of which is our failure to create new medical schools. We are shorter of doctors than ever before, yet at the same time there are more boys and girls wanting to become doctors than ever before. Medical schools get more than thirty applicants for every vacancy, a sufficient testimony that the National Health Service has not destroyed the popularity of medicine as a career. The wail which goes up in America from disgruntled Englishmen, most of whom have failed at home to get the jobs they want, is quite unrepresentative. Anyone seeking an objective picture of Britain's National Health Service should turn to an excellent book by an American, Almont Lindsey, entitled *Socialized Medicine in England and Wales* (University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

The case for medicare is so strong that it is bound to spread the world over — America included. But it carries with it risks and dangers to patients and doctors alike. These must not be minimized; rather they must be examined carefully, so that they can be avoided. The benefits of medicare are obvious, the risks subtle. In the public mind, therefore, only the benefits will be seen. It is up to the experts, medical and non-medical, to concentrate their thoughts on the real risks and dangers and not waste their energy fighting where the case is hopeless.

The arguments in favor of medicare are simple and overwhelming. Good medical care is, and is bound to be, expensive. In the years ahead, as the science of medicine expands, it will become more expensive. It follows that most people will be unable to pay the full cost in cash at the time they receive treatment. Common sense tells us to spread the cost of our episodes of illness over our entire earning life. This means we must



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insure. But for most of us the heaviest costs are inevitably in infancy and old age, outside our normal working and earning span. This means family and whole-life insurance. During a period of, say, forty working years, we have to pay for risks spread over seventy or more years. But there is another difficulty. Because of their heredity or upbringing or work some people are better risks than others. Through no fault of their own, the bad risks simply cannot carry their own burden. Nor indeed is it possible to isolate the bad risks in advance. The only fair thing to do is to pool all our risks. But even if we do this, a flat per capita payment will be unfair. A uniform flat payment will have little effect on the $40,000 a year man, but will seriously reduce the standard of living of the man earning one-tenth of this amount, and this in turn may reduce his family's level of health. It follows that, if we want everyone to have the best possible medical care at his time of need, everyone must pay according to his capacity throughout his entire earning life. In a modern society this presents no inherent technical difficulty. It simply means that the cost of medicare is added to the income tax or other graduated taxes. That is what we have done in Britain. Of our weekly per capita contributions of about $2 for national insurance, a small part only goes toward the cost of the health service. Something like seven-eighths of the cost of the service comes out of general taxation — mainly income tax, purchase (or sales) tax and excise tax.

In a sense, this idea, which is generally accepted in Britain, is foreign to the American philosophy of self-help and the devil take the hindmost. There is much to be said for the American doctrine of self-reliance, of giving and getting value for money, of working hard and taking both the rewards of success and the knocks inevitable in comparative failure. But with medical care, this philosophy in America has already broken down. Sickness insurance is already widespread. But, to the outside observer, the picture is chaotic, with the commercial insurance firms seeking to skim off the low-risk cream and the nonprofit-making organizations being left with the high-risk, high-cost residue.

As a matter of common humanity, medicare for older people has a great deal to commend it. But in terms of national economics, it presents special problems. This is the high-risk group, so the cost to the community per year of risk covered will be relatively far higher than the cost of covering everybody. Medicare for the old may be humane common sense; it may be politically practical; but its effects will be far more dramatic than is generally realized. The great bulk of serious medicine and surgery in advanced societies is now done on older people. So, in effect, medicare for senior citizens will mean that a substantial part of most doctors' work will be for medicare patients. It follows that medicare for senior citizens presents almost as great an administrative challenge, and almost as many potential risks and dangers, as medicare for all.

Properly run, medicare can convey great benefits to patients and doctors alike. The risk is the destruction of the freedom and independence of the medical profession, with a corresponding fall in the quality of service rendered to the public. Instinctively doctors realize this, but they have not faced the problem. I do not think most American doctors have any inherent objection to prepaid medical schemes, provided that the payments are a proper return for work done, and do not involve unnecessary form-filling and outside control of the doctor's work. Here I would say they are right. A whole-time salaried medical service would be a disaster for America, as it would be for Britain. We pay our general practitioners by capitation fee and our specialists by part-time salary. Both groups remain free to practice medicine as they think fit, and neither is restricted, as are civil servants, in their freedom of speech or political action. Doctors working in the National Health Service criticize every aspect of it freely, and they can and do serve as members of Parliament, as municipal councilors, and as members of the many committees which run the service. Nor has the National Health Service been handed over to the Public Health Services. Within its legislative framework, it is largely a self-governing association of physicians, and herein lies its strength.

I am certain that medicare in America will involve payment of most doctors on a fee-for-service basis. Whether this will be direct, from federal or state agencies, or via some noncommercial buffer like Blue Shield, is a secondary matter. Since the risks to be covered are universal, payments are bound to be through taxation. No government can properly farm out its tax-collecting function. But there should be no compulsion on citizens to use, or doctors to participate in, medicare schemes.

As a result of the growth of insurance practice in the States, the custom of "charging what the traffic will bear" is dying a natural death. Fees are, in fact, becoming standardized, despite resistance to the establishment of recognized fee schedules. Nevertheless, there would seem to be a case for three levels of schedule — one for the general practitioner, a second for the specialist, and a third for what might be called the super-specialist. Many doctors who are now classed as GPs might well be graded as specialists for certain types of work, and vice versa (for example, the internist who sews up a cut finger or sets a fracture).

America, like Britain, suffers from under-doctoring in its less attractive areas and over-doctoring in its more pleasant spots. Over-doctoring might be justifiable if there were a total surplus of doctors, though its effects on the profession in the over-doctored areas are on the whole bad. For under-doctoring there is no excuse. In Britain, we have managed to avoid "direction" of doctors as to where they should practice by two simple measures. First, we offer extra cash



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incentives to doctors who set up practices in under-doctored areas. Second, additional practitioners are forbidden to set up new Health Service practices in over-doctored areas, though they can of course start private practices anywhere they like. These controls apart, there is freedom to practice wherever a doctor wishes. It is fair to add, however, that British patients change their doctor far less readily than do Americans. As a result, most doctors enter practice as assistants or partners with established doctors. So opportunities for practice are limited by patient behavior rather than by law.

Medicare, then, involves two incursions into the doctor's freedom. First, he cannot fix his own fee for his medicare patients; he must accept a negotiated scale, which should, however, have regard to his degree of competence and experience. Second, until all areas have enough doctors, he cannot set up in medicare practice in over-doctored areas. These restrictions apart, he should be able to continue to practice precisely as at present, without state interference in his professional work.

Hospitals in the United States display a remarkable diversity in both ownership and quality. There are church and community hospitals, municipal and veterans' hospitals, proprietary private hospitals and so-called convalescent homes. Most are excellent, but many are very poor indeed. Any medicare plan must involve some measure of hospital planning over wide regions. Without this, patients who need highly specialized care cannot receive it. Hospital planning means surveys of both quantity and quality. An effective hospital service means upgrading of the less good to the level of the best, and the provision of new facilities where they are most needed and not necessarily where enthusiastic citizen groups would like to put them.

In Britain, all hospitals have been nationalized. This has greatly simplified hospital planning and upgrading. I doubt if so drastic a solution is needed in America. Indeed, there would be many practical disadvantages, arising largely

from the size of the country. In each state or region, the minimum requirement is that there should be a hospital planning authority, with sufficient powers and incentives to achieve what is needed. Such an authority should cover all types of hospital — charitable and municipal, mental and psychiatric, long-stay for the aged and chronically sick, as well as the proprietary hospitals and convalescent homes. A firmly operated licensing system could prevent the proliferation of unnecessary hospitals. Upgrading could be achieved by the adjustment of capital and maintenance grants through the hospital planning authorities.

I have said nothing thus far about the future of group medical practice or the existing prepayment schemes. The former will probably continue to grow under their own momentum; but they should certainly not be imposed generally on an unwilling profession. The latter will inevitably go out of business as collectors of contributions, but could well continue as payers of benefits or providers of facilities, assuming they are genuinely non-profit-making. On the other hand, it is hard to see how commercial insurance companies could perform any useful role in the provision of medicare on a universal (or nearly universal) scale.

Accurate social prognosis is hard enough in one's own country. To attempt the same thing in another country is even more difficult. On medicare, the people of America will make their own decisions. My excuse for this incursion is to try to illuminate some of the problems we met and dealt with, when we trod the same road fifteen years ago. I have tried to put them into the context of modern American medicine. In so doing, I have been guilty of both dogmatism and oversimplification. But these faults have at least the virtue of showing up the difficulties with greater clarity. No one can study the American scene without being impressed by the quality of the civil service, the public health and hospital administrators, and above all the doctors, in general and specialized practice. Among them, I have little doubt, they will find better answers to the problems of tomorrow than I have been able to suggest. It is high time they got together to examine the real challenges and risks inherent in any medicare program.

## British Guiana

# PRELUDE to INDEPENDENCE

T. E. M. McKitterick

A few days after Dr. Cheddi Jagan's victory in the elections of August, 1961, an American newspaper man, in British Guiana for the occasion, remarked that he and several others would probably be fired by their editors when they got home. They had been warned that Jagan was a Communist and that British Guiana under him would be a second Cuba; however, their stories had become increasingly favorable to him as the campaign had progressed. "Now," said the newspaper man, "I don't know whether he's a Communist or not, and the funny thing is that I don't think it matters."

After two uneasy years the questions are still unresolved. The American Administration thinks that British Guiana is at least one step from communism and cannot, therefore, be given any economic aid. The State Department has exerted heavy pressure on the British Government to withhold the independence promised in 1961 until Jagan and his associates are ren-

*T. E. M. McKitterick is a British journalist who makes frequent trips to British Guiana as a correspondent for* The Guardian *and the BBC.*



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dered powerless. Either Britain must suspend the constitution and resume direct rule (the State Department is apparently not troubled by a return to colonialism), or else the constitution must be so modified that the next election will leave Dr. Jagan with a minority of seats and place the government of the country in the hands of a coalition of his two principal rivals, Forbes Burnham and Peter d'Aguiar. Any other course, it is feared, would involve the risk of a Communist bridgehead on the South American mainland. Britain, however, does not see it quite that way, and although Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys admits that he is baffled, he has been reluctant to adopt either of the courses advocated by the State Department. This reluctance is not due to love of Jagan or underestimation of the Communist risk. It is based on a different appreciation of what would happen.

The problem of British Guiana is one in which economics, political principle, race and personalities are inextricably mixed. Though it has only 600,000 people in its 83,000 square miles, it is an overcrowded country; almost the whole population lives on the narrow sugar and rice belt along the coast or at the foreign-owned bauxite and manganese mining centers in the interior. Rather less than half are Indians, descended from indentured laborers, brought in from Asia after the end of slavery; less than 40 per cent are the descendants of Negro slaves; the rest are Portuguese, Chinese or mixed, with a few communities of aborigines. Broadly speaking, the Indians are rural and work the sugar and rice fields; the Negroes are urban and industrial, and the Georgetown middle class is Portuguese, with an Indian element.

Jagan is supported mainly by the Indians, Burnham by the Negroes and d'Aguiar by the middle class, with the result that the three main parties derive from groups that are not only racially distinct but are also both physically and economically separated. Political differences are therefore largely identified with differences of quite another sort, and the conflicting personalities of the leaders do much to intensify them. Yet there is such a thing as a Guianese personality which transcends the differences. Along the coast there is everywhere

Parker

*Cheddi Jagan*

a consciousness of the vast, undeveloped interior — the 300-mile-wide belt of dense bush and the mountains and savannahs beyond —capable of being opened up only at huge expense, yet believed to be full of riches. There is also a West Indian consciousness, the sense of belonging to the same group as the peoples of the British Caribbean whose Negro and Indian ancestors arrived in the same way, who speak the same language and have the same culture and ties.

Jagan and Burnham both derived their original political inspiration from this Guianese consciousness, and in 1953 they were allies in the country's first, ill-fated attempt at partial self-government. They both were, and to some extent still are, anti-colonialist revolutionaries, dedicated to removing control by the settlers and the British and to replacing it with an essentially egalitarian Guianese rule in which, theoretically, there are no racial distinctions. When they quarreled in 1955, it was partly a clash of ambitions, but also because Burnham disliked Jagan's Marxist leanings (though confessing to a certain Marxist influence on his own thinking). Once the split had occurred, the risk of racial politics was present. Today, Burnham is the leader of the mildly socialistic People's National Congress, but he is first and foremost the guardian of the Negroes against Indian domination — or, with d'Aguiar of Georgetown and the few other urban centers, against control from the countryside. On the basis of common dislike of Jagan, Burnham and d'Aguiar have formed an informal and uneasy partnership which expresses itself as an opposition voice in the legislature. But beyond that they support any form of anti-government action — including the unconstitutional rioting against the 1962 budget, which ended in the burning of central Georgetown, and hardly less unconstitutional strike against the government's labor-relations bill, which paralyzed the country for eleven weeks in the summer of this year. In the bitter political battle for control, accusations of communism, fascism and the acceptance of money from abroad are hurled about indiscriminately. [See "A Dubious Charge," p. 171.] One of the reasons why so many people believe that Jagan is a Communist is simply that his opponents say he is — not the best of evidence, especially when the fanatical d'Aguiar is as free with charges of communism as any member of the John Birch Society.

Is Jagan a Communist? And if he is, does it matter? He will not deny that he is a Marxist, or that his American wife was once a member of the Young Communists. But it is hard to find instances of communism in his behavior. He does not propose the expropriation of the mining companies or of the giant Booker Brothers, a company which dominates the sugar industry and much else besides; he wants to attract foreign capital, private as well as public; his emphasis on the public sector in developing the country is no greater than in many other emerging territories; he has surrounded himself with constitutional guarantees against dictatorship; he has declared himself for non-alignment, and is as willing to accept foreign aid from the United States or Britain as from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or Cuba. On the other hand, he has tried to extend party control to the Rice Marketing Board and to a section of the trade unions; and when he demands the admission of more Indians to the civil service and the police, no one is quite prepared to believe his claim that this step is necessary only because those bodies are already heavily overweighted with Negroes. In his public speeches he can often sound like a Communist, and some of his supporters sound even more so.



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In 1957, when Jagan and Burnham first opposed each other in an election, it was a fairly simple and thoroughly Guianese affair, remote from the cold war and with little racial feeling in the campaign. In 1961, with independence promised soon afterwards, the atmosphere was much more tense. Jagan may or may not have had help from abroad; Burnham had been openly collecting money from Guianese and possibly others in the United States, and d'Aguiar was widely believed to receive funds from Moral Rearmament sources. For the first time America took official interest in a Guianese election. Cuba had happened since 1957, and Jagan's admiration for Castro was not concealed. Jagan's victory, achieved by a minority of the total vote, worried the State Department, and thereafter both Burnham and d'Aguiar began to play openly for American support. In the 1962 riots, and again in this year's general strike, there were rumors and counter-rumors of support from the CIA and from Communist sources. All that is known for certain is that, on Jagan's side, oil and other supplies arrived from Cuba during the strike when other sources were closed; and on the other side, that there was some help by American unions to the strikers and a willingness to declare ships and cargo "black," which would not have shown had the strike been called by left-wing unions against a right-wing government. British Guiana had become part of the cold war; the interests of the Guianese themselves were now in second place, and none of those most concerned asked any longer whether all this was really necessary.

*Forbes Burnham*

This is another way of asking whether, even if Jagan is a Communist, it matters very much. In 1961, it probably did not. He was elected constitutionally and was by no means the first man to take office on a minority of votes; he was impressed by the need for the fastest possible development of his country, and was eager for aid from whatever source it might come. The danger was that if he was cold-shouldered by the Western countries, he would turn into a Communist of a more dangerous type, forced into an unwilling isolation which would oblige him to seek friends elsewhere. Now that official American aid has been finally refused him, and now that his political opponents enjoy at least the tacit support of the United States, the danger is very real.

In the last few months the internal condition of the country has deteriorated; the government has been unable to rule effectively, the opposition has no real alternative to offer, the economy has suffered serious damage. No one now believes that independence should be granted in the near future. But if that is not done, what should be? There are four possible courses, each with powerful arguments against it.

The first, one of the two recommended by the State Department, would be to suspend the constitution and revert to direct rule, which would mean bringing in enough British troops to hold the country down by force. Apart from its basic unattractiveness, this would be futile; it could only be temporary, and at the end Jagan or someone like him would re-emerge with increased bitterness.

The second would be a new constitution based on proportional representation; this is demanded by the opposition parties, and it also would be acceptable to the State Department. Had this system been in force in 1961, no party would have had a majority, but Burnham and d'Aguiar together would have been able to form a coalition — though whether an alliance between these two incompatible men could have lasted, or made for good government, is another matter. The next election, if called fairly soon, will probably (but not certainly) produce a similar result. But after that

*Peter d'Aguiar*

Jagan will probably be back, since the Indian electorate is growing far faster than the rest.

The third would be to do nothing, to let the country disintegrate and fight it out. No one wants this, but there is a real risk that it may happen, simply because no one can decide what else to do. It would probably result in a victory for the numerically superior Indians, but with an intolerable legacy of bitterness.

The fourth course is the most difficult but is formulated in the best interests of British Guiana. It is to recognize that any properly democratic system is likely to result in a victory for Jagan and his rural Indians, but to try to take the sting out of it by providing even better safeguards than exist at present for the racial and economic minorities. The measures taken last year to combat the less dangerous situation in Trinidad provide an effective example of this strategy. It would involve setting a date for independence some time ahead, and using the interval to alleviate as much of the internal discord as possible.

At first sight such a policy looks like a lost cause, but it is the sort of thing that has been done before —in Malaya, for instance, or in Cyprus. It is also the only possible way of utilizing the country's painfully limited supply of political and administrative talent. It would have to be supported by substantial aid for development, supervised if necessary by a United Nations or possibly an Anglo-American mission. Difficult though it is, it is the only course that could, in the end, dispel the prevailing uncertainty, allay resentment, and extract British Guiana from a cold-war setting in which it does not properly belong.



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# Latin America: A Massive Indictment

*THE GREAT FEAR.* By John Gerassi. The Macmillan Co. 457 pp. $6.95.

Alex Neish

Progress in Latin America is an exercise in running, jumping and standing still, now carried out to the encouraging jingle of American dollars. It is prompted by an irrational fear of communism and generally executed by bureaucrats who cannot see the trees for the wood or the facts for their private bank balances. It takes place on a road nominally paved with U.S. good intentions and actually littered with the dead hopes of those South American leaders who believed that an advance could be made peaceably in the face of entrenched privilege and the stranglehold of U.S. big business. Looking down on it all are the twin images of President Kennedy and Fidel Castro.

In a paragraph, that is the general theme of *The Great Fear*, a massive indictment of past and present U.S. policy in the hemisphere. More particularly, John Gerassi's theme is an attempt to answer the question again provoked by Washington's reappraisal and Latin America's criticism of the Alliance for Progress: What is the future of these volatile republics? Just where is this continent of 8.5 million square miles and 206 million people going? It is important to know because, even by 1975, there will be 303 million people in its confines, and by 2000 A.D. probably more than 200 million in Brazil alone.

Summing up the present situation in Latin America, Gerassi concludes that illiteracy stands at 70 per cent, infant mortality at between 25 and 30 per cent, and that 1 per cent of the population owns 71.6 per cent of the farmlands on which 55 per cent of the people depends for its livelihood. The average length of schooling "for Latin Americans who attend any school at all is 1.9 years" and "no more than 2 per cent of the population has ever attended school." This means that there is a crippling shortage of trained or professional workers —which leads to a situation where there are 3,520 people to every doctor and the average life expectancy is no more than forty-four years. "Millions of people barely subsist, while . . . oligarchs manipulate their respective countries' governments to their advantage. To them the plight of the masses is just so much sentimental hogwash."

Further complicating the issue is the almost total dependence of three-quarters of the Latin American countries on only one export item. Too often these items are the very commodities whose prices have slumped in world markets at a time when the prices of imported goods are rising. The solution is obvious to Gerassi as it was to Brazil's President Kubitschek —"Latin America must diversify its own production." This means it must industrialize. "However, it just so happens that some of our major industries are dependent on Latin America's raw materials for production and on its markets for selling our manufactured goods. Thus, it is to our industries' advantage to keep our policy so oriented and constituted as to prohibit or stall Latin America's diversification and industrialization."

It can, of course, happen equally that a republic has no real control over the one item it does export. In Central America, the "octopus" United Fruit Company owns "60 per cent of the six countries' banana exports." Were these the property of the respective governments — according to the author—"$1.5 billion in currency would circulate in Latin America" and "$708 million in hard currencies would be added to national budgets." As it is, "Latin America receives an average of $192 million yearly."

The same tragic story can be repeated in many countries: Gerassi points out that U.S. Steel pays about 20c a ton for ore extracted in Venezuela—later selling it at about $7 at embarkation point. Meanwhile the workers suffer and "Venezuelan oligarchs export about $200 million a year to Switzerland or United States banks."

Hasn't the United States poured a great deal of money into Latin America in an attempt to induce stability and reforms? Of course it has—but in Gerassi's view too much of it has gone to propping up budgets, too much straight into the pockets of those who had money; few of the benefits ever percolated down to the peasants and workers for whom it was theoretically intended. A case in point is Haiti. "Since Duvalier took over, Washington has given it $30 million in grants." What has been achieved? Nothing—except the most appalling conditions in Latin America and an annual increase of $1 million to Duvalier's private accounts abroad.

Lately, the United States has introduced the Alliance for Progress to a fanfare of its own trumpets, and, as Gerassi observes, much of its aid has been committed in a way similar to that applied when Brazil received a forty-year, $50 million loan in December, 1962. In fact, the loan was a credit; in fact, the money was to be used for U.S. imports, no cash leaving the States and Brazil's dollar shortage eventually being increased accordingly. There was no interest, but, in fact, there was a "small credit fee" which —had anyone stopped to work it out— would have been seen to total "$9,395,000—almost 20 per cent."

Gerassi concludes that the reform of the Latin American social structure that must come will be possible only through massive nationalization, enforced diversification and rigid state planning. Two roads are possible: one is nationalistic revolution; the other, foreign aid conditional upon nationalization, diversification and planning. The United States should accept the latter criteria for its aid; accept also that revolutions against the established order are inevitable and probably should be welcomed.

In other words, Gerassi denies the feasibility of compromise when compromise is not only feasible but almost certainly desirable. It is legitimate to argue that nationalization is imperative to achieve the necessary structural reform of society — and on these grounds to exonerate the regime of Argentina's Peron and Brazil's Vargas. But what must be observed is that both of these accentuated the impact of world inflation. The fruits of this whirlwind had to be digested not only by the rich (who could afford it) but also by the poor who could not. Which

*Alex Neish, formerly a British journalist, now lives in Buenos Aires, where he has recently completed a novel,* Before the Undertaker Comes.



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is to say that at this stage of Latin American development it was inevitable that the planned economy of these dictatorships should have been followed by governments that found they had to retrench, yielding 30 per cent of the advances in order not to lose the other 70 per cent. Accordingly, it is unfair to blame, say, Frondizi, for not fulfilling all his election promises and instead seeking a *modus vivendi* between the Right and the Left.

Very much the same political realities are responsible for Haya de la Torre's slide toward the Center in Peru — or, on the other extreme, the sudden anxiety of Venezuela's Betancourt for social reform. What really matters is achievement—for example that Frondizi pushed 250,000 redundant workers out of the bureaucratic machine at the same time that he raised industrial output and stabilized the peso. In some ways the latter was dearly bought (e.g., by acceptance of International Monetary Fund doctrines ill-suited to Latin America) but without such stability, progress is for the masses only a statistical illusion. It is this that justifies the U.S. aid for budgetary support that Gerassi attacks, even though in some cases it was a far from complete justification.

Again, it is true, as Gerassi suggests in his often questionable Baedeker to the politics of the republics, that it has been the popular dictatorships that have made the major dents in the established oligarchy. Peron and Vargas, Cardenas in Mexico and Castro in Cuba, each did this without paying excessive attention to sophisticated ideas like elections, freedom from censorship, or (in the case of the first named) not torturing your opponents. However, these regimes have tended to emphasize urbanization at the expense of the rural base, thus stimulating an often premature industrialization which, when coupled with fluctuations in world commodity prices, can too easily promote national illiquidity. They also lead to the flight of much local and foreign capital which, though wrongly concentrated, is still needed to finance development.

The principal defect of *The Great Fear* is its tendency to oversimplify in the search for a universal moral. For example, Gerassi compares Argentina's steel output with Australia's without pointing out that in the latter country steel is the 98 per cent monopoly of the kind of company he has been belaboring in Latin America. It is dangerous to rely on averages for a continent so large and so marked by contrasts and contradictions. And it is dubious how much faith can be placed in statistics for which no specific source is supplied and which are in some cases pitched much more sensationally than those normally consulted.

In a study of this size, however, these may be quibbles. What matters is Gerassi's "policy for re-conquest." Here disagreement is often inevitable.

For the United States to recognize any government (as he suggests) no matter its way of coming to power, provided it is in administrative control of the state, would only encourage dictators like Paraguay's Stroessner. Gerassi is right, however, that America should withdraw from the O.A.S. and stop trying to bludgeon it into conformity — as it significantly failed to do on the Cuban issue at Punta del Este. He is right that military aid should cease and the main effort go to relief work and educational and technical assistance. He is right to point out that to date the Alliance has been a financial fraud, using previously committed funds without increasing them substantially.

However, to suggest that any country that has undertaken a social nationalistic revolution should be able to get aid "for any purpose whatsoever" once it has proved a reformed industrial, agricultural and social structure, seems only a means of getting back to where we are. The need is not to wait for the revolutions but to get reforms started now. In this the criteria of the Alliance are unmistakably correct. The trouble is that their application has been defective, has led to a feeling of bureaucracy and — stemming from Washington's political pressuring — a suspicion that here is only a new American imperialism.

As Gerassi himself admits, his suggestions for a new policy are ideal, unrealistic and "taken as a whole . . . unrealizable." The real hope rests in a reformed Alliance. Unfortunately, at the present rate of progress — as *The Great Fear* makes all too evident — the United States may yet have to choose between *Alianza* and *Progreso*.

# On the Lack of Scarcity

*THE PAPER ECONOMY*. By David T. Bazelon. Random House. 467 pp. $6.95.

Robert Theobald

Conventional methods of interpreting the significance of economic trends are obscuring the very major changes which are taking place in American productive and distributive realities. This fundamental proposition of David Bazelon's book is best illustrated in the following paragraph:

> *The paper system is conceived in terms of scarcity. It is founded upon that concept. Since scarcity no longer occurs naturally in this country . . . we are quickly approaching the point where the nation will have to make a fundamental decision about whether it can do without the whole baggage of historical ideas which were outgrowths of previously existing scarcities. There is probably no more profound personal issue that any of us will ever have to face than this one—can we stand prosperity? Can we give up the scarcity idea?*

Bazelon's book should be read by everybody concerned with the realities of the American economy; but it should be read with care, for it is an angry book, which scatters its shots too widely, and this dispersion often wipes out the effect of the frequent direct hits. His book is nevertheless an important contribution to a hesitantly begun debate on the changed economic and social problems, for it draws attention to the chronic underutilization of American resources in the new conditions of abundance. Since its publication, events have increased its topicality, and the urgent necessity of discussion in this area has been demonstrated by at least two significant sets of developments.

First, the fundamental underpinnings of the international trade and balance of payments system are obviously collapsing as abundance emerges, not only in America, but also in Europe. The agricultural problem, as exemplified in the "great chicken war," is the forerunner of a general-

*Robert Theobald is the author of the recently published* Free Men and Free Markets *(Clarkson N. Potter), the bulk of which first appeared, under the title, "Abundance: Threat or Promise?," as a special issue of* The Nation *(May 11, 1963).*



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ized problem as each country tries to dump its excess production, both agricultural and industrial, overseas and the other nations try to protect their home markets. Steel, aluminum, textiles, chemicals and many other products already suffer from global problems of excessive production as compared to effective demand.

The ever-growing seriousness of the balance of payments problem is clearly demonstrated in the figures recently released by the Administration to support the proposal for a tax on foreign securities. Nevertheless, despite past failures, bankers are still allowed to determine the proper action. These manipulators of the paper economy prefer to give up as much as $70 billion in domestic production in order to attempt to save $2 to $3 billion in foreign exchange. They oppose any intelligent action to set up an international central bank just as they have opposed other banking reforms throughout economic history.

The second development which has increased the immediate relevance of Bazelon's book is the growing demand of the civil-rights movement for more jobs *now*. Bazelon, in common with socially conscious economists such as Peter Bernstein and Leon Keyserling, has demonstrated that additional jobs will not be forthcoming without drastic change in economic and social approaches which will result in new government policies designed to use rapidly increasing productive power for the elimination of social injustice and poverty.

The recent evidence of a worsening balance of payments situation and an ever more critical unemployment problem insures that the reader of Bazelon's book will not only regard it as an indictment of today's economy, but will also look for indications of his views about suitable policy for the future. It is clear that Bazelon is correct in identifying the problem as economic malfunction, but the evidence he amasses in demanding the conviction of business as the prime offender is sometimes invalid or irrelevant. As I see it, he proves that the total economic system is running wild rather than only the large corporation.

In order to balance production and consumption, Bazelon advocates that big business be replaced by big government as the controller of the economy: in his view this would solve both existing and long-run problems by allowing the liberation of the pro-

## Death in Oregon

**The young trees are dry and light.**
**In the growing season no rain makes this land run green.**
**Summer holds the gray odor of dying grass.**
**The wind tacks dead twigs to fences.**
**The branch of the willow tree is light.**
**I lift it above the dark girl's head.**
**She is light and dry.**
**I am not burdened by her body riding my shoulders.**
**Often her long hair falls in my eyes.**
**Her black hair drowns the thin grass of this barren country.**
**Light trees rise on my hands and let her go by.**
**I hold a willow branch out of her eyes.**
**Her eyes hold oceans that tilt her body riding my shoulders.**
**When she is angry her legs whip my ribs like the thin brown kelp**
**I cracked on the beach.**
**I remember the blacksnake whips of my boyhood when cruelty was**
**the first lash of kindness.**
**The girl riding my shoulders under the willows has a god.**
**She prays her god to bless me.**
**She weeps often at night.**
**She is weightless, a benediction of sunlight, on my body.**
**The pale leaves of willow I lift let her dark head pass.**
**Her ocean eyes tilt down to the unstable earth.**
**Fish keep the curve of her lips.**
**Her head looks to this sparse earth.**
**She weeps at night.**
**She asks her god to bless me.**
**All is perilous.**
**Her god might not answer.**
**She might not love me tomorrow.**
**She may not remember the difference between loving a god and a man.**
**Silently our skillful heads are helped go by the lightness**
**of the young trees in my hands.**
**I hold up branches out of her eyes.**
**I feel into my ribs a small leaning woman whose face follows**
**the earth at my feet.**
**She asks her god to bless my journey.**
**Her hair harbors me.**
**I have carried her a long way.**
**I have drunk light, eaten air, to carry her.**
**How to make clear the soul I do not have —**
**past or present, now or to be created —**
**is the walking I condemn myself to.**
**The freedom to walk the past away by measuring nothing**
**is the journey.**
**I have carried her across America to this Western death.**
**She lives in peril.**
**I am careful.**
**I hold trees away from her small face.**
**She looks down to the dry earth at my next step.**
**She knows she is safe where she is.**
**She asks her god to bless me.**
**I think her lips can wake up earthworms, turtles and carp.**
**She puts small hands on my face.**
**Her hair reaches down to my heart.**
**She leans into the place where I took out my last rib.**
**I hear her innocent confessions.**
**I am a strange priest.**
**My frock is her hair drawn over me.**
**My altar is her elbow.**
**The host I lift is a willow.**

***Robert Hazel***



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ductive drive presently contained by "dominant production-curtailers and other pro-price saboteurs." It is doubtful, however, whether a national commitment to production ad infinitum, with the necessary corollary of ever-increasing government intervention, is the answer to either the economic or the social problems of tomorrow.

I believe that Bazelon is right when he argues that government policies must be changed to allow full utilization of all presently available productive capacity so as to abolish existing poverty. I believe that he is wrong when he goes on to argue that production should be increased for an indefinite period into the future on the grounds that this would enable us to beat the Russians. In my opinion this is a distorted approach which makes it almost impossible to direct attention to the real problems of the second half of the twentieth century.

In the long run, the problem in an abundant economy is not the economic one of maximizing production, but the social one of deciding how much should be produced and what should be done with the available production. In an automated and computerized world, where effective decision-making power is rapidly moving from man to machine, the problem is not how to beat the Russians but how mankind can live in a technological environment and still maintain dignity and humanity.


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## How It Really Was

*PACIFIC WAR DIARY: 1942-1945.* By James J. Fahey. Houghton Mifflin Co. 404 pp. $6.50.

George G. Kirstein

The light cruiser, *U.S.S. Montpelier,* was one of the luckiest ships that ever took a major part in war at sea. Three times she was hit by enormously destructive Japanese torpedoes; all failed to explode. Ships on every side of her were hit by Kamikaze (suicide) planes; she managed to escape. On one occasion she gave up her desirable mooring to a larger ship; immediately thereafter, the ship that replaced her was torpedoed. So, because she remained largely undamaged, she was available to fight; and she fought and fought and fought. She took part in the naval debacle of the Solomons, and remained essentially unscathed while her less lucky sisters lined the depths of "Ironbottom Sound." She took part in the Marianas' campaign, the reconquest of the Philippines, the invasion of Borneo and, finally, in the occupation of Japan. She fought ship-to-ship engagements, participated in dozens of bombardments of enemy-held coast, fought off numberless air attacks. From October of 1942 until the Pacific War ended, with a single three-month interval in the States for refitting tired engines, and refurbishing worn-out guns, she fought.

From her first engagement to her last, Seaman First Class James J. Fahey fought aboard her at his assigned battle station on a 40 mm. anti-aircraft turret. Seaman Fahey was as lucky as the ship he sailed in. With the exception of a few days' bout with tropical fever, he came through the conflicts unscathed. The muzzles of the cruiser's big 6-inch guns were within a few yards of

*George G. Kirstein was an officer in a U.S. Navy ship in the South Pacific during World War II.*


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Fahey's battle station, yet his hearing remained unimpaired; shipmates died or were wounded in action or by accident, but Fahey remained uninjured. Through it all, he kept a diary which he hid in his locker. Between calls to battle stations, assignment to work details, watch standing and a multitude of other duties, Fahey recorded the ship's history and his own activities. Now a Sanitation Department truck driver for the city of Waltham, Mass., Fahey has finally published this journal with the encouragement of the eminent naval historian, Samuel Eliot Morrison, and the intelligent cooperation of Houghton Mifflin.

Seaman Fahey must have been a division officer's dream of what a sailor should be. Even to his journal he rarely voiced criticism of his superiors, his shipmates, or the Navy in general. Indeed his "gripes" are so rare that the ones he does record enjoy the emphasis of understatement. There is the inevitable executive officer who enforces regulations so strictly that the cruiser's brig is filled and a new brig has to be improvised. But Fahey never tells us what happened to this martinet—whether the sensible and popular Captain "pinned his ears back" or whether he was transferred to another ship. The reader hears of him once, and not again. Fahey seems to take as inevitable the fact that for weeks and months there was not enough for the crew of the ship to eat:

*The food is still bad, i.e., for breakfast we were given hash, rice, half a pear and to top it off, bread and butter. Supper consisted of rice, baloney, a cookie and bread and jelly. The supply ships have failed to arrive, which means that we will go hungry for quite some time. We're hungry all of the time. Bedtime finds us starved. Waiting for morning and the next meal is agony.*

The important things to Fahey as they were to all seamen on all ships were what watch he drew, what working parties he was singled out for (usually the onerous one of loading ammunition), what movies were being shown when the ship was in harbor, the ever-present stifling heat, and the constantly recurring rain. For example, Fahey writes regarding the death of a shipmate:

*The fellow who drowned yesterday while on recreation was well prepared to die. He went to the Midnight Mass Christmas Eve, he also went to Communion. This was the day before he drowned. His name was Henry Mistiller. It rained very hard on the 8 to midnight watch tonight.*

Fahey gives us no glimpse of the personalities of his shipmates — perhaps they didn't interest him or perhaps the events were so much more absorbing than the people that all his energies were engaged in recording them. He doesn't tell us with whom he spent his shore leave in Australia or whether his petty officers were good, bad or indifferent. After all, he was a sailor writing a diary, not a novelist. But he does describe the Pacific War with all the authority of an observant participant; the heat, the sweat, the endless nights without sleep, the unremitting threat of enemy action, the incessant hunger, the lousy and insufficient food, the heat rash, the rain, the sudden death, the boredom—all these things he tells us about better than any other author has yet done.


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# Myth of the Melting Pot

*BEYOND THE MELTING POT: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City.* By Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. M.I.T. Press and Harvard University. 360 pp. $5.05.

Elias S. Wilentz

"Please do not discuss Religion and Politics," read the signs put up by New York City bartenders anxious to avoid arguments that end up in fist fights. Publicly the subjects are taboo; we are all Americans in this greatest of American melting pots. Privately, we are Russian Jews, Southern Italians, Irish Catholics, Northern Negroes, rural Puerto Ricans, WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). And in the practical world of city politics, the chiefs of both parties always arrange a balanced ticket, as in the last winning appeal for votes for Wagner (German-Irish Catholic), Screvane (Italian Catholic) and Beame (Jewish), with Dudley (Negro Protestant) for Manhattan's Borough President.

Sociologist Nathan Glazer and political analyst Daniel Patrick Moynihan plunge with the sophisticated eyes of insiders into the national, cultural, ethnic, religious and racial complexity of the city. "The point about the melting pot," they state, "is that it did not happen. At least not in New York. . . ." They see this tenacity of diverse identities as a part of the American ethos, not antagonistic to it, for they view the refusal of the immigrant groups to adopt a "standard, uniform, national type" as the reflection of a historic American concern with "values as with interests." The retention of vital separate traditions, albeit altered in a new setting, with a continuing group identity operates largely independent of economic or class concerns. Yet an Italian family that chooses to live in an overwhelmingly Italian neighborhood, such as South Brooklyn, and sends its children to a Catholic parochial school, nevertheless feels itself to be thoroughly American with full rights even to the extent that one of its sons might some day be President.

The authors fill in the historical story and tell the facts. The 1960 census showed New York City to have a population of 7,783,000 of whom 31 per cent are native white, of native parentage, 47 per cent are foreign-born white or native white of at least part

*Elias S. Wilentz, one of the proprietors of the Eighth Street Bookshop in New York's Greenwich Village, is now at work on a book about the city to be published by Random House. Mr. Wilentz himself comes of Russian Jewish background; he is married to an Irish Catholic and lives in WASP Brooklyn Heights.*



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foreign parentage, 8 per cent are Puerto Rican, and 14 per cent are Negro. This population is estimated as about 1/9 white Protestant, 1/7 Negro Protestant, 1/4 Jewish and 2/5 Catholic. Other estimates suggest that 1/10 are Irish, 1/10 German, 1/6 Italian and 1/20 "old stock" WASPs.

The "reform," "good government," and "do-good" organizations have traditionally been WASPs and have reached new power in an amalgam with middle-class Jews. This alliance, which also seeks to be the spokesman for Negroes and Puerto Ricans, would have been unimaginable a generation ago. It certainly played its role in the recent Breezy Point Park controversy which involves a proposal for a seashore park that would demolish a heavily middle-class Irish Catholic community of 2,500 homes.

Since the interplay of race, religion, national groups and politics is so dear a subject to the private heart of every New Yorker, each will undoubtedly argue with various historic and contemporary interpretations of Glazer and Moynihan. Yet all should agree that the authors have written a scholarly study that is exceptionally honest, incisive and happily free of clichés.

Much of any criticism of the various chapters in the book would come down to a personal reflection on the New York scene. For myself, I doubt that extensive social work programs are the Negroes' prime need, and I wonder if the chapter on Puerto Ricans was meant to read as if they were now being treated with tender loving care by New York City. The Jews and Italians were discussed, I felt, with an underlying author bias that placed highest merit on levels of material gains, political liberalism and job status for second and third generations. The Moynihan chapter on the Irish is written with wit and insight and fewer lecturing admonishments. The authors do see a kind of melting pot taking place with division along solely religious lines; this would seem to me to be a dismal prospect and a questionable one.

I also find a lack of awareness of the role of immigrant groups as the traditional cheap labor source over the last century and a half. Since World War II, the city has drawn the displaced Southern Negroes and poor Puerto Ricans for low paying jobs formerly held by Italians, Irish and Jews who have now largely moved up into the middle class or left the city to find middle-income employment. Historically, these immigrant groups have been the source of political radicalism and social change: the equal-rights movement of the Irish, the socialism of the Jews, Germans and Italians, the labor-union activity of all the immigrant poor. What voice the Negroes and Puerto Ricans will develop is yet to be seen; they have only recently constituted a large population group. They present a unique situation for New York since for the first time its lowest paid quarter of the population is also distinguished by color.

That all the immigrant groups have stuck with the Democratic Party in New York City (though not in national or state elections) is no surprise. Every immigrant New Yorker is painfully aware that he has no other party. The Republicans in the city have never shown concern with present or former "unwashed masses."

## MUSIC: European Report

**Benjamin Boretz**

Whatever one's expectations, a brief first-hand encounter with the European musical milieu is unlikely to produce any dazzling revelations of new phenomena or to offer enough of a comprehensive understanding to justify any weighty generalization about "the scene." In the first place, modern communications really do function so efficiently — in a westerly direction, at least — that virtually everything one can observe in Europe is already known, in some form, to the American musical world. And in the second, it would obviously take far more time than most musicians could afford to fathom all the workings of the vast network of activity that comprises European music.

Nevertheless, however familiar or elusive any of these aspects may be individually, they reveal a coherence in the context of the total European musical environment that could not have been inferred from outside observation alone. My own experience in Europe this past summer provided, in this connection, a striking indication that the essential qualities of every segment of a culture's musical life ultimately derive from the work and thought of its composers. Thus, just as European composition has undergone a violent cleavage from its traditional continuity, so every other aspect of musical activity seems to have been similarly cut off from its central development, and to have become stranded in an impasse where no further development or even the maintenance of a high conventional standard seems possible.

The most general way that this compositional image is reflected is in the contrast between the variety, extent, and range on the surface of every activity I observed, and the homogeneity that was invariably revealed on close examination. For instance, the sheer number of "regular" concerts that take place all over Europe is staggering by American standards, and they all seem able to attract large audiences. But the range of programing and performance qualities represented by a whole year's worth of European orchestral concerts, recitals, operatic performances and festivals would be considered much


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too limited for a routine season of a single American orchestra; and the endless profusion only emphasizes the basic vacuity of the whole public concert business.

On the other hand, the tendency of the most interesting young performers to be composer-oriented results in a still more significant relation between performance and current compositional tendencies. Among American performers, this orientation is manifest not only in the sense that they play new music, but also in their development from its viewpoint of performances of the entire literature. Their European counterparts, however, mirror *their* composers' approach to tradition by simply ignoring any music written before Messaien or outside the Darmstadt circle. The consequent effects on the quality of their new-music performances as well as, reciprocally, on the music composed, have already been noted here; but a perhaps more serious result is that the entire historical literature is abandoned to the dead routines of conservatory performers, who generally make it seem as contemptible as it is regarded by the others. The only satisfactory performances of any kind that one can hear in Europe are, in general, those given in the opera houses such as the Vienna Staatsoper or by the orchestras such as the Vienna Philharmonic that are devoted to the faithful reproduction of standardized performances of a specific literature. The Klemperers belong only to the very oldest generation, and their sole discernible successors are the same young Americans who, in a very different manner, continue the searching and continuous revaluation of all musical conventions.


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Within the compositional realm itself, the pervasive uniformity is puzzling to anyone who is accustomed to the independence and diversity that characterize the American *avant-garde*. For the professional structure within which European composers work seems to offer a far more generous scope for divergent approaches than does the university-bound American situation. Because new music is regarded by European governments as a necessary form of cultural propaganda, an entire segment of activity has been opened for its promulgation and encouragement, primarily through the radio stations. Along with the German state opera houses, the radio provides commissions, ensembles of all descriptions, studios and equipment for electronic music, and countless broadcasts of both live and recorded concerts of contemporary works. This has a propulsive effect on other professional activities that are notably sluggish in the United States. Publication, for example, is almost automatic for any European work that is commissioned by either the radio or opera house (and few works are composed on any other basis); since each performance or broadcast, even of a recording, pays a handsome royalty, publication of even a formidable new orchestral work, unimaginable in America, is likely to be a reasonably profitable venture in Europe.

Also, the existence of a group of special ensembles, with a ready repertory of new works prepared at government expense, has provided the backbone for a whole series of ambitious new-music festivals. These, too, provide a focus for professional life, forming an almost continuous traveling center for the instant dissemination of the latest developments that ranges between Palermo and Warsaw and is on the road from April to October of each year.

But despite such manifold opportunities, I was still unable to find a single "advanced" composer working outside the Darmstadt orbit, or a single new European work on any of the festival concerts that was not either all "situation" and no composition, or a straightforward exercise in the so-called "international style." The young composers I met at the various festivals, in particular, seemed quite unaware that any alternatives to these approaches were possible, necessary, or even desirable. As a young German student at the Darmstadt Summer Course for New Music pointed out, "In America, everyone is trying to learn how to compose. Here, one knows." And the most depressing aspect of this complacency is that the general abandonment of the composer's desire and responsibility to create distinguishable musical statements has also destroyed his ability to recognize or describe the simplest discrete musical event. As a result, all professional discussion — such as the "teaching" at Darmstadt and the "theoretical" literature published in composers' magazines — is reduced to the level of primitive verbal and numerological gestures that are as powerless to communicate meaningful ideas as the "new music" itself. The implications of this for the future of European music are simply that the prevalent state of uniformity within and among compositions, ideas and activities threatens to perpetuate itself by its very nature. The inability to communicate or to receive communication, like the compositional inability to transfer the formal and perceptual discoveries of one composition onto the next, necessitates beginning from the same referenceless point each time to produce an endless undifferentiated variety that is equivalent to total redundancy.

Still, the real danger of the situation is not so much the existence or even the prevalence of Darmstadt, but rather the absence of even a single strong, imaginative figure to provide a hierarchical measure of its triviality, and to propose viable alternatives. Today, such figures and alternatives are mainly to be found in America, but the failure of our government ever to hold a festival of international importance in the United States, or to sponsor the presence at such events of our orchestras — which would be of no use anyway as long as they remain unprepared to play new American scores — has meant that the work of American composers is entirely unknown in Europe and is, in fact, hardly presumed to exist. In this way, we may already have lost the opportunity to provide Europe with the postwar musical leadership it so desperately needs; the resultant vacuum seems nearly filled with the mediocre extremes of exhibitionism and conventionality. But if there still remain a few European musicians or listeners whose musical predilections demand more exacting perceptual and formal challenges, it seems to me that we can no longer afford the dubious luxury of keeping our new music to ourselves.



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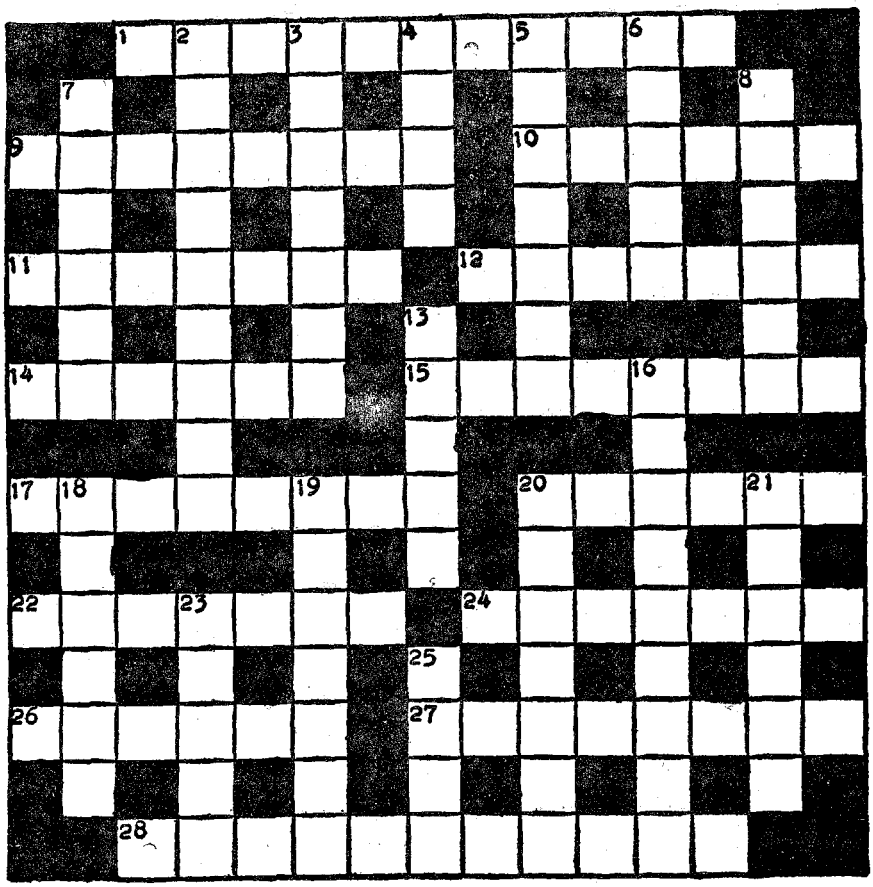
# Crossword Puzzle No. 1025

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Is such a dictatorial manner responsible for the population explosion? (11)
9 Certainly not a high-riding bohemian, but probably first at the bar. (4-4)
10 Weakened, but not necessarily by blackjack. (6)
11 Abrupt change from the arquebus, but not a very obvious change. (7)
12 His symphonic work was simply fantastic! (7)
14 Quiet area for play—possibly contract. (6)
15 Lot large enough for your inseparable companion? (5, 3)
17 A bird that suggests his own method of demise. (8)
20 Bed in disorder? (6)
22 Possibly noted for the air in Scotland. (7)
24 Peak in another continent, or city in this one. (7)
26 One doesn't agree to measure fineness this way. (6)
27 Whooping crane, for example? (4, 4)
28 Stiffening applied to resin, which implies rather arbitrary proceedings. (4, 7)

DOWN:

2 and 23 What retractable pens have is probably only a matter of perspective. (9, 5)
3 Eggs are over a dollar here! (7)
4 See 13 down.
5 Show regard for detail? (7)
6 Its land surface is certainly not formed from an unbroken plane.
7 Reputedly he is often searched for by those who would like to give him a hand. (6)
8 Have one's rightful place, but the forward-looking sometimes say it won't! (6)
13 and 4 Sponsors dinner, perhaps, but show-offs don't like to take them. (4, 5)
16 Go easy on the drinks? It seems to be a reasonable statement! (9)
18 Debussy's work — not necessarily the graven kind. (6)
19 And do you need a ruler to measure some of Beethoven's work?
20 Desire to drink, as a periodic thing? (7)
21 Draw out. (6)
23 See 2 down.
25 Roguish bow? (4)

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1024**

ACROSS: 1 Close quarters; 10 Datum; 11 Organ stop; 12 Perforate; 13 Satin; 14 Disingenuous; 19 Denomination; 24 Behooving; 25 Take after; 26 Incan; 27 Enlightenment. DOWN: 2 Liters; 3 Symposium; 4 and 22 Quotation marks; 5 Angle; 6 Tents; 7 Rotation; 8 Adept; 9 Spanish; 15 Get a horse; 16 Neologism; 17 Edomite; 18 Unbroken; 20 Zircon; 21 Agent; 23 Swami; 24 Batch.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